EQUAL RIGHTS

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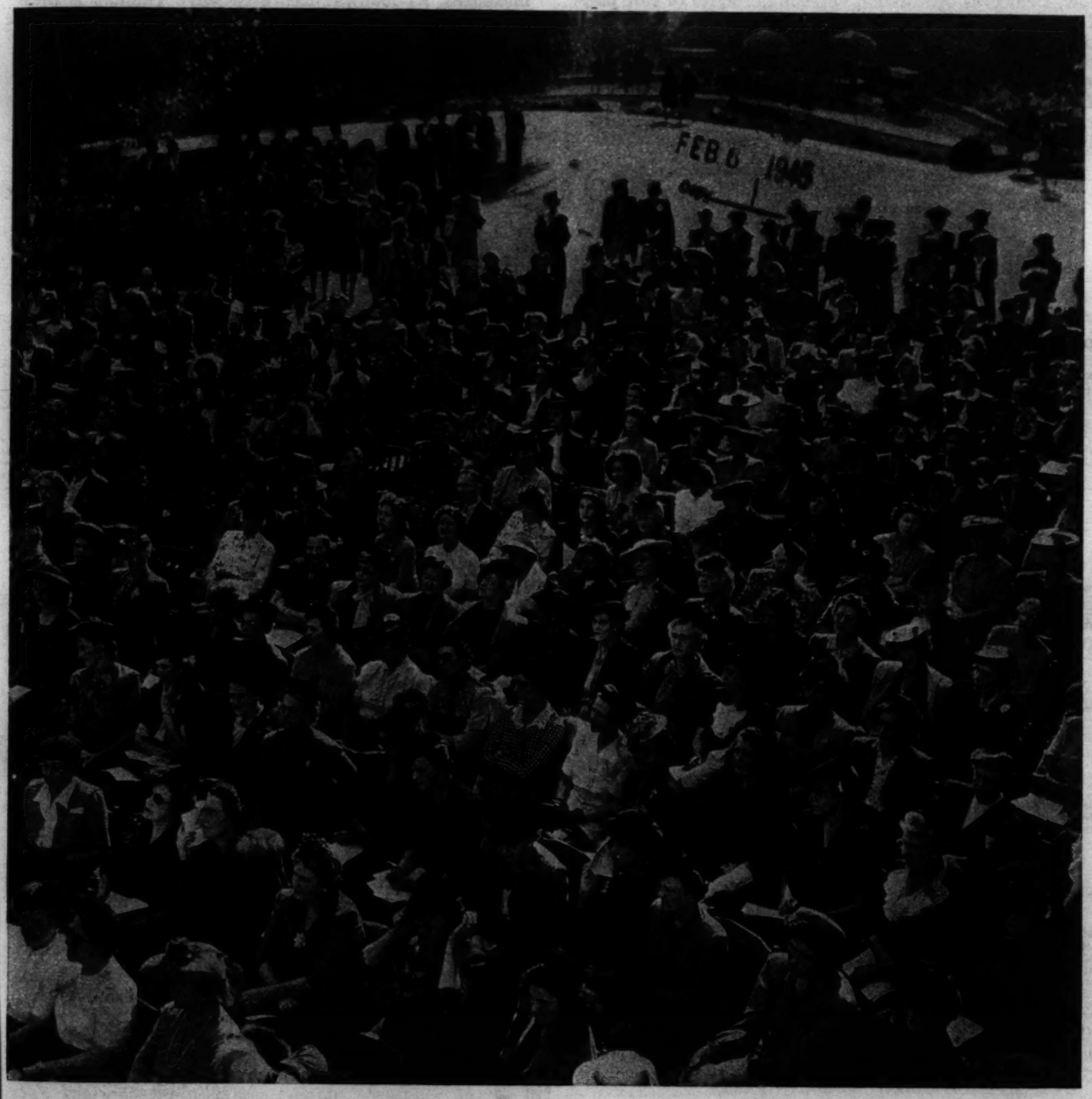

A Section of the great gathering assembled at Pickfair, Beverly Hills, California, to demand immediate passage of Equal Rights Amendment

Equal Rights Amendment Leads Concurrent Resolutions In The House In 79th Congress

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By CAROLINE LEXOW BABCOCK

SEIZING the first legislative opportunity with the skill of long practice, Representative Louis Ludlow, Democrat of Indiana, veteran defender of fair play for men and women alike, reintroduced in the House of Representatives, on January 3rd., the opening day of the 79th Congress, the Equal Rights Amendment, which he has sponsored for many years. Due to his foresight, the Amendment became H. J. Res. 1, the first concurrent resolution on the calendar of the House. It reads as follows:

> "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
>
> "Congress and the several States shall have power within their respective jurisdictions to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
>
> "This amendment shall take effect three years after the date of ratification."

Because of a rule of the House that only one name may appear as introducer on any bill or resolution, six other congressmen, anxious to show increased strength for the Amendment, introduced identical measures, as follows: Representative Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Democrat of Maryland, H. J. Res. 5, on January 3rd., Representative Richard F. Harless, Democrat of Arizona, H. J. Res. 30 on January 3rd., Representative Fadjo Cravens, Democrat of Arkansas, H. J. Res. 49 on January 4th., Representative Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia, H. J. Res. 66 on January 11th, Representative John M. Robsion, Republican of Kentucky, H. J. Res. 71 on January 16th., and Representative Ellsworth B. Buck, Republican of New York, H. J. Res. 80 on January 23rd.

H. J. Res. 42 was introduced by Representative Howard Smith, Democrat of Virginia, on January 3rd. It reads:

> "Women shall have equal rights with men without discrimination on account of sex throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.
>
> "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The Equal Rights Amendment is now before the House with more than double the number of independent resolutions over the last Congress.

Inspired by a wish to serve the interests of women further than by the mere casting of a vote in favor of the Amendment, seventy-three congressmen asked Mr. Ludlow to refer to them in his speech as co-sponsors in spirit even if denied actual co-sponsorship by the rule of the House already cited. This represents a very great increase over the last Congress.

Mr. Ludlow spoke on January 31. (See Page 3.) His list of co-sponsors included almost as many Democrats alone as the entire list of Democrats and Republicans in the preceding Congress. Two women sponsors, Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, and Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican of Massachusetts, appear for the first time.

The opening speech in Congress was delivered by Judge Robsion of Kentucky. Judge Robsion's address will be given in the next issue of Equal Rights. For the first time a Congress sits which is pledged by its party platform to the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. For the first time, a Democratic member of the Judiciary Committee of the House, to which the Amendment is referred, is one of the independent introducers. For the first time, the South is advancing to the support of Equal Rights. Louisiana, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky all have "co-sponsors" on Mr. Ludlow's list.

Senator George L. Radcliffe, Democrat of Maryland, has announced that he will introduce the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate in the near future, with a large number of Senators as co-sponsors.

The Amendment is off to a fine start. The home stretch is in sight. All success to its friends in both Houses.

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress and the several States shall have power within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"This amendment shall take effect three years after the date of ratification."

Speech by Representative Louis Ludlow of Indiana

In the House of Representatives, January 31, 1945

ON January 3rd I introduced the Equal Rights resolution which proposes to write the following amendment into the Constitution of the United States:

> "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
>
> "Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
>
> "This amendment shall take effect three years after the date of ratification."

I am privileged to announce that the following seventy-three members of the House join me as sponsors of the resolution and will give it their cordial support:

Representatives Frank W. *Boykin*, Ala.; Richard F. *Harless*, John R. *Murdock*, Ariz.; Fadjo *Cravens*, W. F. *Norrell*, Ark.; Clair *Engle*, Jack Z. *Anderson*, Gordon L. *McDonough*, Chet *Holifield*, Carl *Hinshaw*, Harry *Sheppard*, John *Phillips*, Ed. V. *Izac*, Richard J. *Welch*, Calif.; Philip A. *Traynor*, Del.; J. Hardin *Peterson*, Pat *Cannon*, Joe *Hendricks*, Dwight L. *Rogers*, Emory H. *Price*, Fla.; Compton I. *White*, Idaho; William L. *Dawson*, Ill.; Earl *Wilson*, Ind.; Paul *Cunningham*, Iowa; John M. *Robsion*, Ky.; James *Domengeaux*, La.; Margaret Chase *Smith*, Me.; H. Streett *Baldwin*, Thomas *D'Alesandro*, George H. *Fallon*, Md.; Edith Nourse *Rogers*, Angier L. *Goodwin*, Mass.; Roy O. *Woodruff*, Mich.; Marion T. *Bennett*, Walter C. *Ploeser*, Mo.; Fred A. *Hartley*, Jr., D. Lane *Powers*, Harry L. *Towe*, N. J.; Leonard W. *Hall*, Leo F. *Rayfiel*, Ellsworth B. *Buck*, Joseph Clark *Baldwin*, Bernard W. *Kearney*, Edwin Arthur *Hall*, George F. *Rogers*, James H. *Torrens*, Joseph L. *Pfeifer*, Adams C. *Powell*, Jr., N. Y.; Herbert C. *Bonner*, Zebulon *Weaver*, N. C.; William *Lemke*, Charles R. *Robertson*, N. D.; P. W. *Griffiths*, J. Harry *McGregor*, Ohio; Victor *Wickersham*, Okla.; Homer D. *Angell*, Ore.; Herbert J. *McGlinchey*, Daniel J. *Flood*, Samuel *Weiss*, William A. *Barrett*, John Edward *Sheridan*, William J. *Green*, Daniel K. *Hoch*, Pa.; Joseph R. *Bryson*, S. C.; B. Carroll *Reece*, Tenn.; Charles A. *Plumley*, Vt.; Ralph H. *Daughton*, Howard W. *Smith*, John W. *Flannagan*, Jr., Va.; Jennings *Randolph*, Cleveland M. *Bailey*, W. Va.; Alvin E. *O'Konski*, Wis.; Frank A. *Barrett*, Wyo.

This is the eighth time I have introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in as many successive Congresses. At the request of the ladies who had battled so heroically for the Equal Suffrage Amendment through much travail to final victory, I first introduced the Equal Rights Resolution in the Seventy-second Congress on January 11, 1932. It was known as House Joint Resolution No. 197 of that Congress.

As a newspaper man, I had sympathized with them in their fight for suffrage and with my pen and my voice I had fought with them. When they decided to take the next step toward the emancipation of women, with equal rights as their objective, I found myself no less sympathetic with them.

In the next, or Seventy-third Congress, I introduced the Equal Rights Resolution and obtained for it the honored place of House Joint Resolution No. 1 of that Congress.

It now takes its place again as House Joint Resolution No. 1 of the Seventy-ninth Congress. Its primacy on the calendar of resolutions introduced in Congress is in keeping, I believe with its importance from the standpoint of social welfare and the national interest. It is the natural and inescapable corollary of the amendment which gave women the right of suffrage. If women are entitled to the status of citizens, as they are under the Equal Suffrage Amendment, they are entitled to the rights of citizens. That is irrefutable logic.

The discriminations against women in the constitutions and laws of various States are no less grievous now than they were when I first introduced the Equal Rights Resolution in 1932. The Equal Rights Amendment, if adopted, would bring to full fruition the age-old struggle of women to attain the complete stature of position and influence to which they are entitled as creatures of God, under all of the canons of justice. It would do this by repealing at one swoop an almost infinite variety of State enactments and local ordinances that discriminate against women in various ways and forms. It would truly place women on an equality with men and that is where she belongs. If women are capable of working at the forges and lathes of the defense plants of our country; if they are good enough to serve with infinite devotion as Wacs and Waves and Spars in the black hours of our history, when the fate of freedom and all we hold dear is trembling in the balance, certainly they are good enough to be entitled to enjoy equal rights with men under the laws of the land, and the refusal of that right is a scarlet stain on our flag.

When the resolution was first introduced and the ladies who proposed it began their long struggle to secure its adoption, there was no dawn of hope to hearten them as there is today. Jeers and not cheers were their portion. But recently there has come a realization to many homes of this country that the proposal is one of intrinsic merit, that it is in the interest of good government and that its adoption would make the Constitution a rounded and completed instrument of equality and justice. As this feeling has grown, the amendment has made distinct progress, securing a favorable sub-committee report of the Judiciary Committee of the House and a favorable report of the full committee on the Judiciary of the Senate.

But the most epochal development in the advancement of this amendment occurred last summer when both of the national political conventions adopted planks approving the amendment and going on record in favor of submitting the resolution to the States for ratification in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. I submit for the Record the text of these planks as follows:

Equal Rights Amendment Planks

From Republican Platform—1944:

> "We favor submission by Congress to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing for equal rights for men and women.
>
> "We favor job opportunities in the post-war world open to men and women alike without discrimination in rate of pay because of sex."

From Democratic Platform—1944:

> "We favor legislation assuring equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.
>
> "We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional amendment on equal rights for women."

I invite the attention of my colleagues in Congress to these solemn platform pledges. I decline to be cynical as to the future. I have faith to believe that these promises will be redeemed. We now have a fine opportunity to demonstrate to the country and to the world that political platforms are binding after the election as well as during the campaign.

Southern California Rallies To Support Of Amendment

Editor's Note: This meeting which, because of lack of space, was reported only briefly in the December issue of Equal Rights, is here more fully reviewed.

A BRILLIANT and significant meeting was held at Pickfair, Beverly Hills, California. This event, on October 28, 1944, was sponsored by the National Woman's Party, the Business Women's Legislative Council, and the School Women's Council.

Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford, Dean of Women of the University of Southern California from 1925 to 1941, and now, Professor of Old French at this University, presided. In opening this outdoor meeting—one of the largest ever held since the suffrage campaign was won—Dr. Crawford said:

> "This is a momentous hour in the life of our Nation. I speak to you in the name of the National Woman's Party, the School Women's Council, and the Business Women's Legislative Council of California. We meet to further the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. I address members and guests, hoping that guests will become members. As our program is long and important, it is my high privilege to present to you immediately the first speaker, a great pioneer in the cause of Women's Rights—Dame May Whitty, Dame Commander of the British Empire, whose unique position in her career makes her a distinguished leader of us all."

Dame May Whitty, noted actress, beloved by suffragists for her outstanding contribution to the Woman Suffrage Movement in England, greeted her audience with this ringing challenge:

> "I cannot understand how any woman would want not to carry her flag. Having the vote means that women had to fight for it—a long fight. I am very proud to be associated with you here and to join in your great work for the future."

She then charmed the large gathering by stories of the feminist struggle in England and the part played by women of the stage, who backed the movement through their efforts and their art.

At this point, Mary Pickford took her place beside Dame May Whitty, and these two actresses of stage and screen responded together to the enthusiastic greeting of the audience.

Miss Pickford, a member of the National Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party, graciously welcomed the more than 1100 women gathered in her spacious grounds and, speaking on the theme, "Women in the Post-War World," declared:

> "I am so happy to welcome you all to Pickfair. I have, for many years, been a member of the National Woman's Party, and it has been a joy to see it grow in membership and influence. But, although we have made remarkable progress, we must be ever increasingly watchful to keep the gains we have made and constantly be taking new steps forward. We can not rest until the Equal Rights Amendment becomes a part of our Constitution.
>
> "I have been surprised to find how many men, and women too for that matter, believe that women are already enjoying equal rights because they have been granted the privilege of voting, and I believe a great deal of educational work is needed along these lines. A man I was speaking to the other day was horrified to learn that in California, which is certainly considered one of the more enlightened states, a husband may legally collect his wife's salary. Fortunately for us, most men have shown greater chivalry than the law in this respect.
>
> "Of course, you are all familiar with the arguments used against the Equal Rights Amendment—that it would do away with protective legislation—and you are undoubtedly familiar with the arguments refuting this—but it seems to me the one thing of paramount importance is the fact that, until we have complete citizenship rights, our country can not be called a true democracy. In the post-war world Europe will look to us for guidance. We hope to be the model they will wish to pattern their own governments upon. But how can we uphold the beacon light of true democracy as long as our American women are being discriminated against in matters of their own government?
>
> "And, speaking of post-war Europe, I have not seen any mention of women being included in the organization that is to decide and mainntain the peace. This seems to me a fatal mistake. In a world dictated by men there have always been wars. Women have always been against wars. Should they not, therefore, have some say now in the peace plans that will govern their lives and their children's lives for years to come? I quote from Pearl Buck, 'That man has done as much as he can alone is evident in the constant repetitions that we have of the same sort of booms, depressions and wars.'
>
> "Last week I heard a clergyman say the only hope for civilization was through the home and the church, and that women had always been the custodian of the one, and the guardian of the other. I hope to see women trained as statesmen with an emphasis on language so that they can meet and talk with women of other lands and help each other. Time and space are being eliminated in the modern world. China and India are now only days away from the United States instead of weeks, and it is in the realm of possibility that in the near future it will be only a matter of hours.
>
> "The war has undoubtedly accelerated the advancement of women in all lines of business and opened doors to careers that were heretofore closed to them, but the trend was steadily forward anyway, and I can not see that the end of the war will stop this progress.
>
> "It is true that there will be many returning to their homes from war jobs, but there will also be many whose homes will be broken up by the war—the loss of husbands, sons and brothers. These women will have to be self-supporting. And there are many women perfectly capable of managing a home and a career at the same time.
>
> "I, myself, have been a career woman since the age of five. Through all those years my interests have been many and varied, but I do not believe my home or family have suffered. I now have two children and am hoping to adopt a third baby, and here I am once more starting in motion picture production. I have many times wondered in the past few months why I have the temerity to enter this world of struggle again. I know from past experience the innumerable problems that are ahead of me. And it still seems difficult for men to accept women in business on an equal footing. Therefore, it behooves us women to be doubly efficient at our jobs in order to defeat this attitude. We must have patience, diplomacy and serenity. But in spite of all these problems and difficulties, work is the very breath of life to me. As it is for me, I know it is for millions of other women all over the United States—all over the world—and that is why I know that women will go on. It is an advancing triumphant army that there is no stopping now. In this post-war world I earnestly pray that we will use our power for good and our influence wisely. So much is in our hands that we must not—will not fail."

In introducing the next speaker, Aura-Lee Ageton, Dr. Crawford said: "It is a splendid moment when we may safely entrust the future to the hands of the younger generation."

Aura-Lee Ageton, graduate of the University of Southern California, Personnel Director for the Santa Monica City Schools, reaffirmed the interest of young women in the cause of women and in the Equal Rights Amendment, and then introduced Dr. Zelma Huxtable, Chairman of the Southern California Branch of the National Woman's Party. She referred to Dr. Huxtable's energetic and able work for women and of her recently published book of poems, which has been included in the permanent collection of Huntington Library.

Dr. Huxtable addressed herself to the special guests of honor, and to the Presidents of the many California state and local organizations which had endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. She pointed out that these

women and their loyal associates had overcome personal whims and past stands and were *uniting* in an effort to attain the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment *NOW*. She paid special tribute to Alida Dyson, President of the Co-ordinating Committee for Constitutional Rights. She stressed the need and importance of continued and united effort on the part of all women until the goal is won.

Mrs. Neenah Hastings Lessemann of Redwood City, California State Chairman of the National Woman's Party, a guest of honor on the platform, was then presented to the meeting.

Mrs. Ruby Palm, President of the School Women's Council of Los Angeles, then introduced Lucy Rice Winkler, Western Regional Chairman of the National Woman's Party. She spoke of Mrs. Winkler's devotion to the cause of Equal Rights in Southern California, of her work in founding and establishing the School Women's Council, the purpose of which has always been to defeat discriminatory legislation affecting women in the teaching profession, and to secure the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The brilliant California mass meeting to demand the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment was addressed by (left to right) Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford, of the University of Southern California, and President, Business Women's Legislative Council of California, presiding; Speakers: Dame May Whitty, noted actress; Mary Pickford, Member, National Advisory Council, National Woman's Party, Hostess to the meeting, and Anita Pollitzer, Chairman, New York City Committee, N. W. P.

Mrs. Winkler spoke earnestly of the need for increased action and told of the California work for the Amendment. She then introduced Anita Pollitzer, Chairman of the New York City Committee and member of the National Executive Committee of the National Woman's Party, emissary to the meeting from National Headquarters, saying: "Anita Pollitzer can speak to us with authority on the Equal Rights Amendment as she has worked for the Amendment since its introduction. She is known to many in this audience because of her course of lectures on the woman movement given to the teachers of Los Angeles a few years ago."

Citing moments in history when women "stood at the cross roads, as they do now," Miss Pollitzer declared:

> "We hold this meeting to urge immediate Congressional Action on the Equal Rights Amendment. We hold this meeting at a grave time in the history of our country. The movement for the freedom of women is a serious and responsible one. It is a part of the great tide of democracy which is sweeping all over the world. Freedom and equality for the human race cannot be established if half the human family is denied equal rights. There have been several times in the history of this country when women have exerted their influence, and failed because enough women did not make the demand for the freedom of their own sex. When our Constitution was being formed, a great woman, Abigail Adams, the mother of one President and wife of another, lifted her voice for women. She wrote to her husband, John Adams: 'In the new document which you are framing, I pray you remember the ladies. If you do not, we shall foment a rebellion.' Here, when our country was being founded and women stood at the cross roads, Abigail Adams raised her voice, but she raised it almost alone.
>
> "Then, in 1848, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, called the first Woman's Rights Convention ever held in the world. What a brave and beautiful trumpet-call for emancipation they sounded! One of their resolutions declared: 'Resolved, that women should be enlightened with regard to the laws under which they live, so that they may no longer proclaim their degradation nor make known their ignorance by declaring they have all the rights they want.'
>
> "A few years later, Susan B. Anthony joined in their crusade. When the Civil War came, only a few voices could still be heard urging emancipation for women. The result was that after the war, women were not included in the freedom won. Women had not rallied to the support of the enfranchisement of their own sex and woman suffrage was not included in the Constitution. An opportunity had again been lost to win this measure of freedom for women.
>
> "But the movement went steadily forward. At almost every session of Congress, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton found means to bring up the Constitutional Amendment for Woman Suffrage, which now stands as law of the land. That Amendment could have been passed sooner had women rallied to its support, but for years and years the burden was left to only a few. Now that suffrage is established, the opposition, the ridicule, the imprisonnment which met those who worked for it is hard to believe. The Woman Suffrage Amendment passed the Senate on June 4, 1919. On August 26, 1920, it was pro-

claimed part of the Constitution of the United States. Shortly after, those of us who had worked in that campaign realized that *suffrage was but part of the victory.*

"Many of you must remember the campaign that went on during the first world war to secure the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment—a campaign so politically significant that President Wilson went to the Capitol to deliver an address, urging the Senate to pass the Woman Suffrage Amendment. His appeal is so strikingly applicable to the Equal Rights Amendment and the need for its passage that I wish to quote a passage from it here. President Wilson said: " 'If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or trust us. . . . Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say that we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right?'

"Today, women again stand at a cross roads. Our interest in woman's rights looks towards a freer, more abundant life for all human beings. We are asking for equal status under the law. Women are adults and the law should so recognize them. The only right we have in the Constitution today is our right to vote. Other rights belong to us only when they have been expressly granted. The Constitution, the supreme law of the land, is silent on our other rights and the Supreme Court has several times given interpretations against women. Only an Amendment to the Constitution will override these interpretations.

"During this war, we have seen, women doctors have to fight for opportunity and rank. Today, in some cities, married women teachers can not enter the armed services without relinquishing their jobs, while in the same cities the positions are held for men. This is all so wasteful. The energies and powers of all should be used without fear or favor.

"The work that remains is to speedily *pass the Amendment.* Both the Republican and Democratic Parties have planks in their platforms calling on Congress to submit the Amendment to the States. It is our responsibility to see that at this important moment in history women do not fail. *'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.'* This is the text of the pending Amendment to the Constitution. It is a principle of right, and should be in our Constitution beside our other great guarantees of freedom. In the Woman Suffrage fight, women of the South and East came to you voting citizens of the West to ask you to use your power to help enfranchise other women. Again we turn to you, here where the law is freer from ancient prejudice, and we urge you to demand that Congress take favorable and immediate action on the Equar Rights Amendment. In the words of the great English militant song, let us 'March, march, many as one, shoulder to shoulder and friend with friend' towards this high purpose."

The audience greeted Miss Pollitzer's challenge to action with enthusiasm. At this point a surprise was in store for the audience. Dr. Crawford arose saying: "It is probably because of a certain great English feminist that this meeting of enfranchised women is possible. How fortunate we are that we should today have the inspiration of her daughter's presence. I now bring you a great surprise and pleasure. I have the honor to present to you Dame Christabel Pankhurst, Dame Commander of the British Empire."

Dame Christabel Pankhurst came forward and in response to the repeated applause, spoke as follows:

"Women Citizens of America: I am happy to be with you this afternoon with Dame May Whitty, my fellow warrior of the great days of campaigning for the vote in Great Britain, with Miss Mary Pickford, herself a woman of achievement, with Anita Pollitzer, whose eloquent address we have just heard. It is always good to me to be in America where my beloved mother's memory is as green and as honored as in the old country.

"The women of Britain and of America have long been united in heart and aim and work. Yes, we British and American women led the way for cooperation as between our countries and peoples. Never has there been a cloud between us; always have we been united by affection, understanding confidence and a common purpose. We have not allowed anything in the past history and traditions of our two nations to divide us, because we have known how to forget and what to remember. In this we women of America and Britain have been pioneers of international harmony and founders of the present good relations between our two nations.

"Together we pay tribute to the three great American suffrage pioneers, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony.

"The National Woman's Party, whose guest I am today, is the daughter of our British movement, founded by my mother, Emmeline Pankhurst. Dear Alice Paul came to us in London and after working with us awhile returned to Washington and planted the standard there. Hers was the statesmanlike conception of the triumphant policy of winning votes for women, by an amendment to the American Constitution rather than State by State.

"And so I bring you loving salutation—happy and proud memories that we share and a forward look and hopes in common.

"As women we should, I feel, have three special aims. One is the improvement of the health, and economic and social condition of women and of humanity in general. In all this your country and my country have already risen to a high level. Let us go higher yet and thus set an even loftier standard for other as yet less fortunate peoples to reach. The second aim is that of world peace in so far as human effort can achieve peace. Our third and greatest mission is the spiritual one—it is to lead the world onward to God."

Dr. Crawford then presented the following resolution, addressed to Members of the Congressional delegation from California, which was unanimously carried:

"We, members of the Coordinating Council for Constitutional Rights, comprising representatives of thirty leading organizations of women in California and their friends, assembled at the home of Mary Pickford to further Congressional work for the Equal Rights Amendment, call upon members of the California delegation in Congress, in line with their party platforms, to support the submission of the Equal Rights Amendment by Congress to the States. We ask our Representatives to do all in their power to help women win this measure of justice and equality."

The meeting over, the large group stayed on in this beautiful outdoor setting until dusk, lingering over the tea tables, and discussing the campaign.

More than fifty Presidents of women's organizations attended. Among the guests of honor and Presidents who assisted in the reception of the guests were: **Judge Georgia Bullock,** Los Angeles Superior Court; **Judge Ida May Adams,** Municipal Court; **Mrs. Neenah Hastings Lessemann,** California State Chairman, National Woman's Party; **Mame B. Beatty,** President, Soroptimists' Clubs of Los Angeles; **Mrs. Rena Brewster,** President, National Business and Professional Women of Los Angeles; **Charlotte V. Carpenter,** State President, Native Daughters of the Golden West; **Mary Ellen Dickison; Mrs. Alida Dyson,** President, Coordinating Committee for Constitutional Rights; **Mrs. Leicester Fulwider, District President,** California Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; **Mrs. Mildred Hutchison,** State President, California Business Women's Council; **Mrs. Paxton Lytle,** President, Los Angeles County Federation of Women's Clubs; **Mrs. Ellwood Munger,** President, Los Angeles District, California Federation of Women's Clubs; **Miss Grace Stoermer,** Vice-President, Bank of America; **Mrs. Lola B. Stanley,** Vice-President, American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs; **Mrs. Myrtle V. Stuelke,** State President, Delta Kappa Gamma.

In addition, many prominent club women were sponsors of the meeting and contributed toward making it an event that will be remembered.

How Amendment Affects Working Men and Women

Speech by Ella M. Sherwin, President, The Industrial Women's League for Equality, at Steinway Hall, New York City, January 10, 1945.

I APPRECIATE the privilege of being allowed to explain to you why I, as a working woman, need the Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution of the United States, and why I believe it will be greatly to the advantage of all working men and women to have the Amendment adopted.

I have been a factory worker for over thirty years, most of that time working under the jurisdiction of the Typographical Union. What I say I have learned from experience.

There are somewhat over one thousand laws in the forty-eight states that discriminate against women and many that discriminate against men. That is an average of about twenty-five laws to each state, some having more, some less.

8-Hour Law for Women Only

As an example of discriminatory laws, let us consider the eight-hour day law for women as it is in force in a number of states. See how it discriminates against women; how it discriminates against men; see how we happen to have the law in its present form and what form it should take in the future.

The eight-hour day is now general; less than eight hours is not uncommon. There is, however, a difference between the eight-hour day established by law for women and the eight-hour day established for men by union law, by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, or by custom in an industry. Men work eight hours for a day's pay; in emergencies they work overtime at time-and-a-half pay. Both unions and the Federal government have provided the extra pay for more than eight hours in order to make overtime expensive and discourage it, except where it is really necessary. This is not merely a protection against over-fatigue, but it is a recognition of the right of each person to time for a personal life. Time for study, recreation, to spend with family and friends.

State eight-hour laws for women, but not for men, prohibit women working in excess of eight hours in any one day, under any circumstances. The result is that men "scab" on women by working longer hours than women are permitted to work; and women, in turn, "scab" on men by taking the job at a lower wage to make up for their inability to work extra hours in emergencies. Employers will conform to the limit on hours if they can save money on wages; otherwise, they won't hire women.

Such a law discriminates against women by turning their jobs over to men; and discriminates against men by giving them no state protection whatever against overlong hours of work or against underbidding by the restricted woman worker.

How do we happen to have laws that work this way? When they were being enacted, largely before the first World War, women had been coming into industry in hordes. They were not expected to be desirable employees, and probably they were not. It was still said that "woman's place was in the home" and that implied quite definitely that their place was nowhere else! In those days we were not even voters. Women themselves mostly believed they didn't belong in industry. They accepted low wages and long hours, feeling they were out of place getting a pay envelope at all. They were, of course, unorganized—as were most men at that time. They had not been trained for a business life of any kind, and usually expected to leave industry at the first opportunity.

When women who had got into fairly good jobs protested that they couldn't hold their jobs under the state laws limiting the hours of women but not of their male competitors, they were told they "must be sacrificed for the good of other women," and anyhow, it was only an "entering wedge," and laws for both men and women would follow. So women were forced out of many of the best jobs they had been able to work into, and many possible lines of employment were closed to them entirely because of state laws applying to women workers but not to men workers.

The labor laws that regulate women's employment and not men's belong to the early part of this century—to the horse and buggy era.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

When the first World War occurred, United States industry boomed. Because of a labor shortage women went to work at jobs they had never been able to get before. In many cases they were paid the same wages as men for the same work. Then the attitude of women toward jobs changed. The idea of equal pay for equal work was firmly established and the practice of getting equal pay increased. It had begun to be recognized that women were in industry to stay.

Things progressed somewhat until finally we find ourselves engaged in a second world war. We are much more deeply involved in the second than we were in the first. We now have women doing work that the women of the first World War period would never have dreamed of trying to attempt; doing work to win the war, to gain freedom for the oppressed peoples of the world, that in peace times they were not permitted to do in order to assure their own comfort and happiness and the welfare of their families.

And they are doing all this in most states without the restrictions normally imposed in those states on their labor. Most of the discriminatory laws applying to women only are not in force for the "duration". In New York state the hours laws for women were so restrictive as to be impractical at a time when their labor is needed to keep civilian life from bogging down, and to provide material for the war. Now women are having the opportunity to demonstrate their ability to work under the same push-together conditions as men.

Interstate Commerce

And we have the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which applies to men and women alike. Why should not State laws, like the Federal law, establish a floor under wages and a ceiling over hours for *all workers—for men and women equally?* The Federal law applies only to those industries whose products enter into interstate commerce. State laws could also be placed on a basis of equality between men and women for those industries whose products do not go out of the state in which they are produced.

We have in New York State a law providing that core rooms in foundries shall be separated from the ovens in which cores are baked, by a partition extending from the floor to the ceiling, and openings in the partition shall be so protected that gases and fumes from the ovens cannot enter the core room—IF WOMEN are employed in the core room. If men are employed, the partition is not legally necessary. Why in the world is the State of New York so utterly unmindful of the health of the fathers and the prospective fathers of the state that it fails to give them the protection of this same law? How many men have died from sickness caused by the gases and fumes from the ovens, since this law was passed? Why did New York ever pass such a law, showing utter disdain for the welfare of men in this type of employment? The Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution will force the legislature to amend this law and give equal protection to men and women.

"Mothers'" Pensions

The revised "mothers' pension" laws in various states are an example—a proof—of how the Amendment could equalize laws. Formerly most of the states paid "pensions" only for the care of children of widows. Under the Social Security laws, this has been changed so that children of either a widow or a widower—as well as orphans—may have pension money for their support, paid to their guardians. Just so, the Equal Rights Amendment will force states to equalize all laws.

Maternity Legislation

Maternity legislation is sometimes referred to as a protective measure that would come within the scope of revisions made necessary by the Amendment. This is an error. Maternity laws apply only to a very limited number of women over a very short period of time. They are practically sick insurance laws with the insurance payments left out. They are no more discriminatory than medical care for veterans of World War I are a discrimination against men who are not veterans.

The veteran has been partly incapacitated as a result of a service to the state, and has been granted a special consideration in consequence. A woman bearing a child is rendering a service to the state which is recognized—I might say inadequately—in the form of maternity legislation. The state which forbids her employment for a period of time should, logically, provide her with some income during that period.

Equal Rights Amendment

The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will compel all states to make all laws equal for men and women: Eight-hour, minimum wage, health protection laws, etc. It will make obligatory, of course, equality under other laws: inheritance, guardianship, rights to own and dispose of property laws, etc. The main interest of working men and women is in equal labor laws.

Many labor men and women and many local unions have endorsed the Amendment. It is the job of the Industrial Women's League for Equality to get many more to do so—and quickly.

Now, when women are demonstrating their ability to do all kinds of work for their country's sake; when we must anticipate the return to industry of men who have suffered the penalties of war and must be guarded against undue hazards in employment; when we must plan for the postwar employment of all who must work to live—now is the psychological moment to adopt the Equal Rights Amendment.

claimed part of the Constitution of the United States. Shortly after, those of us who had worked in that campaign realized that *suffrage was but part of the victory.*

"Many of you must remember the campaign that went on during the first world war to secure the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment—a campaign so politically significant that President Wilson went to the Capitol to deliver an address, urging the Senate to pass the Woman Suffrage Amendment. His appeal is so strikingly applicable to the Equal Rights Amendment and the need for its passage that I wish to quote a passage from it here. President Wilson said: "'If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or trust us. . . . Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say that we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right?'

"Today, women again stand at a cross roads. Our interest in woman's rights looks towards a freer, more abundant life for all human beings. We are asking for equal status under the law. Women are adults and the law should so recognize them. The only right we have in the Constitution today is our right to vote. Other rights belong to us only when they have been expressly granted. The Constitution, the supreme law of the land, is silent on our other rights and the Supreme Court has several times given interpretations against women. Only an Amendment to the Constitution will override these interpretations.

"During this war, we have seen, women doctors have to fight for opportunity and rank. Today, in some cities, married women teachers can not enter the armed services without relinquishing their jobs, while in the same cities the positions are held for men. This is all so wasteful. The energies and powers of all should be used without fear or favor.

"The work that remains is to speedily *pass the Amendment.* Both the Republican and Democratic Parties have planks in their platforms calling on Congress to submit the Amendment to the States. It is our responsibility to see that at this important moment in history women do not fail. *'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.'* This is the text of the pending Amendment to the Constitution. It is a principle of right, and should be in our Constitution beside our other great guarantees of freedom. In the Woman Suffrage fight, women of the South and East came to you voting citizens of the West to ask you to use your power to help enfranchise other women. Again we turn to you, here where the law is freer from ancient prejudice, and we urge you to demand that Congress take favorable and immediate action on the Equal Rights Amendment. In the words of the great English militant song, let us 'March, march, many as one, shoulder to shoulder and friend with friend' towards this high purpose."

The audience greeted Miss Pollitzer's challenge to action with enthusiasm. At this point a surprise was in store for the audience. Dr. Crawford arose saying: "It is probably because of a certain great English feminist that this meeting of enfranchised women is possible. How fortunate we are that we should today have the inspiration of her daughter's presence. I now bring you a great surprise and pleasure. I have the honor to present to you Dame Christabel Pankhurst, Dame Commander of the British Empire."

Dame Christabel Pankhurst came forward and in response to the repeated applause, spoke as follows:

"Women Citizens of America: I am happy to be with you this afternoon with Dame May Whitty, my fellow warrior of the great days of campaigning for the vote in Great Britain, with Miss Mary Pickford, herself a woman of achievement, with Anita Pollitzer, whose eloquent address we have just heard. It is always good to me to be in America where my beloved mother's memory is as green and as honored as in the old country.

"The women of Britain and of America have long been united in heart and aim and work. Yes, we British and American women led the way for cooperation as between our countries and peoples. Never has there been a cloud between us; always have we been united by affection, understanding confidence and a common purpose. We have not allowed anything in the past history and traditions of our two nations to divide us, because we have known how to forget and what to remember. In this we women of America and Britain have been pioneers of international harmony and founders of the present good relations between our two nations.

"Together we pay tribute to the three great American suffrage pioneers, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony.

"The National Woman's Party, whose guest I am today, is the daughter of our British movement, founded by my mother, Emmeline Pankhurst. Dear Alice Paul came to us in London and after working with us awhile returned to Washington and planted the standard there. Hers was the statesmanlike conception of the triumphant policy of winning votes for women, by an amendment to the American Constitution rather than State by State.

"And so I bring you loving salutation—happy and proud memories that we share and a forward look and hopes in common.

"As women we should, I feel, have three special aims. One is the improvement of the health, and economic and social condition of women and of humanity in general. In all this your country and my country have already risen to a high level. Let us go higher yet and thus set an even loftier standard for other as yet less fortunate peoples to reach. The second aim is that of world peace in so far as human effort can achieve peace. Our third and greatest mission is the spiritual one—it is to lead the world onward to God."

Dr. Crawford then presented the following resolution, addressed to Members of the Congressional delegation from California, which was unanimously carried:

"We, members of the Coordinating Council for Constitutional Rights, comprising representatives of thirty leading organizations of women in California and their friends, assembled at the home of Mary Pickford to further Congressional work for the Equal Rights Amendment, call upon members of the California delegation in Congress, in line with their party platforms, to support the submission of the Equal Rights Amendment by Congress to the States. We ask our Representatives to do all in their power to help women win this measure of justice and equality."

The meeting over, the large group stayed on in this beautiful outdoor setting until dusk, lingering over the tea tables, and discussing the campaign.

More than fifty Presidents of women's organizations attended. Among the guests of honor and Presidents who assisted in the reception of the guests were: **Judge Georgia Bullock,** Los Angeles Superior Court; **Judge Ida May Adams,** Municipal Court; **Mrs. Neenah Hastings Lessemann,** California State Chairman, National Woman's Party; **Mame B. Beatty,** President, Soroptimists' Clubs of Los Angeles; **Mrs. Rena Brewster,** President, National Business and Professional Women of Los Angeles; **Charlotte V. Carpenter,** State President, Native Daughters of the Golden West; **Mary Ellen Dickison; Mrs. Alida Dyson,** President, Coordinating Committee for Constitutional Rights; **Mrs. Leicester Fulwider, District President,** California Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; **Mrs. Mildred Hutchison,** State President, California Business Women's Council; **Mrs. Paxton Lytle,** President, Los Angeles County Federation of Women's Clubs; **Mrs. Ellwood Munger,** President, Los Angeles District, California Federation of Women's Clubs; **Miss Grace Stoermer,** Vice-President, Bank of America; **Mrs. Lola B. Stanley,** Vice-President, American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs; **Mrs. Myrtle V. Stuelke,** State President, Delta Kappa Gamma.

In addition, many prominent club women were sponsors of the meeting and contributed toward making it an event that will be remembered.

How Amendment Affects Working Men and Women

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There are somewhat over one thousand laws in the forty-eight states that discriminate against women and many that discriminate against men. That is an average of about twenty-five laws to each state, some having more, some less.

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As an example of discriminatory laws, let us consider the eight-hour day law for women as it is in force in a number of states. See how it discriminates against women; how it discriminates against men; see how we happen to have the law in its present form and what form it should take in the future.

The eight-hour day is now general; less than eight hours is not uncommon. There is, however, a difference between the eight-hour day established by law for women and the eight-hour day established for men by union law, by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, or by custom in an industry. Men work eight hours for a day's pay; in emergencies they work overtime at time-and-a-half pay. Both unions and the Federal government have provided the extra pay for more than eight hours in order to make overtime expensive and discourage it, except where it is really necessary. This is not merely a protection against over-fatigue, but it is a recognition of the right of each person to time for a personal life. Time for study, recreation, to spend with family and friends.

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How do we happen to have laws that work this way? When they were being enacted, largely before the first World War, women had been coming into industry in hordes. They were not expected to be desirable employees, and probably they were not. It was still said that "woman's place was in the home" and that implied quite definitely that their place was nowhere else! In those days we were not even voters. Women themselves mostly believed they didn't belong in industry. They accepted low wages and long hours, feeling they were out of place getting a pay envelope at all. They were, of course, unorganized—as were most men at that time. They had not been trained for a business life of any kind, and usually expected to leave industry at the first opportunity.

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Woman Suffrage In Bermuda Fruit Of 21 Years' Hard Work

Hamilton, Bermuda.

The Woman Suffrage Society of Bermuda saw a 21-year fight for the right to vote crowned with victory in 1944 as the Legislative Council passed a measure according women the same status of voters as that held by men.

In the pioneer days of the suffrage campaign in Bermuda, only four opponents to ballots for women could be found in the Assembly when 115 women property owners presented a petition based on a principle of no taxation without representation. The Assembly did not then regard the request as strange and passed a number of bills, only to have them rejected by a single vote in the Upper House. However, by a 19 majority, assemblymen were opposed to enfranchising women, and successive efforts later met with failure in the Upper House.

Patient Type of Campaign

Nevertheless, a few women worked patiently through suffrage societies to win legislative and public support, mostly without the spectacular demonstrations of the British suffrage campaigns.

The nearest any suffragette got to jail during those days was one occasion when Mrs. Henrietta Tucker, wife of a doctor, refused to pay parochial taxes and was haled to court. She refused to pay even after being arraigned on the charge, and was only saved from committal to jail by the action of the Bishop of Bermuda, who interceded to put up the necessary money on behalf of the suffragette.

For a period suffragettes annually refused to pay parish taxes, leaving the vestries to levy on goods and chattels in order to meet tax obligations. Normally, the furniture put up for sale after such action, oftentimes antique, was repurchased by fellow suffragettes or behind-the-scenes settlements were reached between the vestries and non-payers.

At the outbreak of the war the suffragettes rejected a suggestion that they refuse to do war work until they secure voting privileges; instead, they have noticeably been at the forefront of the war effort.

The recently successful campaign was led by a quartet of Bermuda women who worked on undismayed by the seemingly impossible job of securing equal suffrage rights in the Western Atlantic isle. They are Mrs. Gladys Morrell, wife of an English naval officer; Mrs. H. St. George Butterfield; Mrs. Henry Lockward, and Mrs. Tucker, the woman who refused to pay parochial taxes. These four at one time carried their request to the Colonial Secretary in London, but the Office for the Colonies ruled the suffrage matter a strictly local question to be settled by the Assembly in Bermuda.

One of the latest and strongest arguments advanced against the women at home was the contention that enfranchising of women would antagonize the colored population, which are in a considerable majority on the island and are nominally prevented from voting by an existing law fixing ownership of at least £60 ($260) as a voting qualification.

When the Assembly finally approved the measure according the vote to any woman meeting other qualifications, it represented the first essential change in the franchise laws since the emancipation of the slaves in the early 19th century. Observers feel that the electorate will be considerably widened under the new laws despite the continuance of the property qualification. In the 1944 general election there were only 2,942 votes cast, while at least 400 own sufficient property to vote in the largest parish alone.

Clerical Influence Felt

One interesting phase of the suffrage campaign is that but for a chief justice who "did not want to put more power in the hands of the clergy," Bermuda would have been in the vanguard of woman's suffrage before the twentieth century.

Four times, in 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1899, after the Assembly passed a bill enfranchising women, Sir Josiah Rees, chief justice, cast the deciding vote in the Legislative Council rejecting the measure because, he said, "The clergy sway women and (if we grant them suffrage) we should have Bermuda run by its clergy." —*From The Christian Science Monitor, Boston.*

DOROTHY EVANS

By HAZEL HUNKINS HALLINAN

Dorothy Evans, whose untimely death we all mourn, was an outstanding worker in the feminist movement over a period of twenty-five years. She was born English but in every country where there is a feminist movement she was part of it, and by her unique contribution to all of them she became an international figure. She was a founder of the World Woman's Party for Equal Rights, and Chairman of the British group connected with that organization. Until her death she served as a member of the World Council. The Equal Rights International, until it merged with the World Woman's Party, developed under her presidency.

She began her feminist activities before the First World War. At that time she was an eager, vivacious young disciple of those clear-thinking valiant British suffragettes who shocked a complacent world into a consciousness of the iniquitous anachronisms under which women were living. In the bitter struggle which followed, Dorothy Evans suffered many imprisonments and forcible feeding. Out of it she came "as tempered steel" and with a philosophy which has been an inspiration to her coworkers ever since.

After limited suffrage had been grudgingly granted by Parliament she carried on the work of winning suffrage on an equality with men. But this was only the beginning of the larger emancipation she envisaged and worked for all her life. Equal pay for equal work, equal social security, equal opportunity for equal qualifications and equal responsibility for the management of a world so badly mismanaged! There was no cause in the battle for the larger freedom which did not fit into the grand pattern of her egalitarian philosophy. Neither was there any case involving petty discrimination which did not find a warm sympathy and practical help in her counsel.

The British movement knew her best, but she was in constant demand at meetings and conferences all over the continent of Europe. She went annually to the League of Nations Assembly meetings, in Geneva, to help co-ordinate and integrate the feminist movements in all countries. Dorothy has been in America several times as a worker and speaker for the National Woman's Party and every one who came in contact with her will remember the clarity of her thinking and her mastery of conference procedure which turned mere talk into actual accomplishment.

The Equal Rights Amendment which is before Congress at the moment has its opposite in England, which is known as the Equal Citizenship Bill. Like the American version, the Equal Citizenship Bill is a comprehensive measure designed to erase in one legislative act every statutory clause prolonging any form of sex discrimination. Into the furtherance of this Bill Dorothy Evans poured her time and her vitality and her loss to this work at this time is very great. Although the war and the constant threat of invasion has been a great equalizer in England, it has also created further sex discriminations. The conscription of women achieved to a large degree equality of service and sacrifice with men, but it did not carry with it equality of pay (which in the Army is roughly 2/3 of what the men receive in the same rating); it did not bring about equality of food, which is roughly 4/5 the value of that allowed for men; it did not bring to women equality of compensation for injury or equality of benefits to dependents. Discriminations such as these are the wartime versions of those which are woven in the fabric of everyday life and all of them come within the scope of the Equal Citizenship Bill.

Conditions which depreciate the status of women in England contribute to the maintenance of prejudice against women in this country. The losses and gains in the equal citizenship struggle, wherever they occur, constitute losses and gains of our own. Thus the passing of so valuable a leader as Dorothy Evans is a loss to us as much as to her homeland.

SUCCESS

"Then take this honey for the bitterest cup:
There is no failure save in giving up.
No real fall, so long as one still tries,
For seeming setbacks make the strong man wise.
There's no defeat in truth, save from within.
Unless you're beaten there, you're bound to win."

—Anon.

Honoring The Founders

By LAURA M. BERRIEN

ON Friday, January 19th, 1945, a group of 100 men and women, led by Dr. Clinton N. Howard, Superintendent of the International Reform Federation, Inc., met in the Rotunda of the Capitol, to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Federation and to honor the Founders. The International Reform Federation is our near neighbor, with Headquarters at 134 B Street N. E., and in friendly manner often lends us chairs when occasion demands.

The first shrine we visited was the statue of George Washington, where the group formed a semi-circle, while Dr. Howard saluted the Father of our Country, recited his brilliant deeds, and ended by recalling the words of Washington, in 1787, referring to the Constitution as "A standard to which the wise and just shall repair; the event is in the hand of God." Then a wreath was laid, a prayer was offered for the salvation of our country, and the first verse of the Battle Hymn of the Republic was sung.

We then strode across the Rotunda to the statue of Lincoln, where again Dr. Howard spoke a few appropriate words, introducing Dr. Walter Brooks, for sixty-two years a pastor of the 19th Street Baptist Church, whose silvery locks betokened that he had been born before the Emancipation Proclamation, who made the address and laid the wreath. Again we sang, led by Justin Lawrie, a beloved singer of Washington.

Next we paid honor to Francis E. Willard, in Statuary Hall, the outstanding worker for temperance, president of the W. C. T. U. for twenty years, and whose work for temperance and social purity will live in the annals of the country forever. Here Mrs. D. Leigh Colvin, the president, and Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, past president of the W. C. T. U., gave the tribute and laid the wreath.

We then strode across the famous Whispering Gallery and arrived at the statue of the Christian orator, William Jennings Bryan, who at the time of his death in his will committed his body to the ground and his soul to God.

Finally, we wound down the curving stairway to the Crypt where Dr. Alice Paul, chairman, and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, immediate past chairman of the National Woman's Party, made the tribute and laid the wreath before the Adelaide Johnson statue of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. In laying the wreath, Mrs. Wiley said:

We are happy to be here today to honor the achievements of these three great women, whose monument is enshrined in the very heart of the Capitol, under the great Dome, immediately beneath the statue of Columbia, typifying Liberty.

Lucretia Mott, the great Quaker, born in 1792, grew up in the only society of her time which admitted in practice the equality of men and women.

"Right principles," she said, "are stronger than great names. If our principles are right why should we be cowards. Why should we wait for those who never had the courage to maintain the inalienable right of the slave."

Lucretia Mott is the founder of the woman movement. She worked untiringly for the freedom of the Negro and for the freedom of woman. For many years she suffered for her convictions, but she lived long enough to witness the progress of many of her cherished causes from utter condemnation, to a certain degree of approval.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the collaborator and friend of Lucretia Mott, was born in 1815. Together these friends planned and carried out the Seneca Falls Convention, of 1848, where the crusade for the liberation of women began. Together they drew up the Declaration of Sentiments and launched the campaign to secure the vote for women. Mrs. Stanton was president of the National Woman Suffrage Association from its organization in 1865, until 1893. Her favorite quotation was:

"Death does not blot out the records. Everlastingly writ, they shall be everlastingly read, for the shame of some and for the glory of others."

For Elizabeth Cady Stanton the record has been everlastingly written and has redounded to the glory of all womankind.

Susan B. Anthony, born in 1820, is the one of this Triumverate of Women, who is known as "The Woman who Changed the Mind of a Nation", as the liberator of women. This woman, because she really believed that "taxation without representation is tyranny" and tried to remedy this situation as far as women are concerned; this woman who believed that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and tried to give woman an opportunity to be heard at the polls, was the storm center of the most bitter denunciation and calumny. She was the object of vicious mob attack and of bitter editorial comment. And yet such was her noble character, her unflinching courage and her example, that before her death she was welcomed by the representatives of all nations, as the leader of the women of the world. No one has ever received such recognition because of services rendered to humanity, as Miss Anthony.

And today we, of the National Woman's Party, carry on, led by Dr. Alice Paul, here by my side, our chairman, to fulfill their program to secure an amendment to the Constitution, supplemental to the woman suffrage amendment, which will guarantee to women a status in the law and before the courts, equal to that of men. Where before were the words: "The right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex," are substituted the words: "Equality of rights under the law, shall not be denied or abridged in the United States or in any State, on account of sex." We hope that this will become the 22d Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

We watch the beginning of the 79th Congress full of hope and expectation that all that these great women have done, and all that has been done by our organization and the many others working with us, and the portent of the times which indicates that more and more equality of opportunity, is the trend of the times, will bring success. We look forward to the day, not now far off, when women will become "persons" in the eyes of the law and will know the dignity of FULL citizenship.

Again we closed with prayer and singing. Following these most unusual exercises, we all repaired to the Senate Dining Room, where the nation's statesmen and heroes have dined for years, where breakfast was laid for 100 people, all guests of the International Reform Federation. A pointless breakfast was partaken of. We began the simple meal, preceded by grace said by Dr. James Shear Montgomery, Chaplain of the House, soul stirring singing by Justin Lawrie, and an invocation pronounced by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate. At the head table with Dr. Howard sat Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, Dean of the Senate, together with Senators Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado, and W. Lee O'Daniel, of Texas, Representative Brooks Hays, of Arkansas, and distinguished men from all parts of the country.

We were inspired, edified and delighted by speeches for three hours from these outstanding characters. Throughout the entire time we were held spellbound by the golden thread of wit, the rich recollections of a crowded life, and quotations from the scripture, given to us by Dr. Howard, a small man weighing only 120 pounds, whom some friend has described as "One hundred pounds of backbone, plus 20 pounds of tongue."

DUE TO A PAPER SHORTAGE

"Equal Rights" **will appear *every other month in 1945.* Never throw a copy away! Always pass it on to a friend! A one-cent stamp will carry it anywhere in the United States.**

Excerpts from

Equal Rights For Women

(The following letter to Mrs. Dora G. Ogle, Business Manager of "Equal Rights," is reproduced by her permission.)

By FRANK CHODOROV, *Editor "Analysis"*

The phrasing of the proposed equal-rights-for-women amendment, it seems to me, is as noteworthy as the object of the amendment is laudable; both are in line with the spirit of liberty.

> "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Here is a declaration of principle that is soundly put. For, in seeking a measure of justice for the female half of the population, it relies on the wiping out of laws, not on the making of new ones. It does not invest government with new power but seeks to divest it of the power by which for ages it has imposed disabilities on women. It is definitely a radical, not a "liberal," proposal. It goes to the root of the matter by declaring invalid all discriminatory enactments now in force, and ties the hands of the politician, in this respect, in the future. * * *

The literature of the National Women's Party suggests that its legal talent is not unaware of the importance, to the purpose of the amendment, of abolishing existing law. The legal handicaps imposed on women are not accidental; they are merely the regularized advantages which the male has since time immemorial sought to enjoy at the expense of his mate. In this respect, however, women have not been singled out. The law has always been employed by the powerful to further their ends at the expense of the weak or less rapacious. Beginning with the swash-buckling chieftain who first grabbed what he wanted and then formalized his thievery into a "right," down to the modern pressure-group technique of obtaining special privilege, the effect of law has not been to secure "equality of rights" but rather to make for the divison of mankind into advantaged and disadvantaged.

This is so even with "social legislation," as the literature of your organization suggests. The maudlin attempt to "protect" women by limiting their hours of employment has not only deprived them of overtime pay, but has prevented their holding lucrative jobs which might call for an extra hour or two of work. Male workers profited. During the depressive 1930's a wave of welfare-ism swept into our codes enactments depriving women of the right to earn a living, and it is only within recent times that the provision against employing married teachers was removed from New York City regulations. Parading under the psuedonym of "liberalism," such legislation sought to overcome the scarcity of jobs by putting women out of work.

Regardless of the intent of the lawmakers, every legislative measure results in profit to one, loss to another. This is necessarily so. For all laws (excepting, perhaps, those dealing with infractions of the right to live), pivot on property rights. Yet the law in general makes no distinction between property rights based on labor and property rights based on privilege. In fact, since all privilege is created by law it could hardly make that distinction. One must not expect the robber, or his accomplice, to label loot as such.

In the case of woman, for instance, her legal position is what it is because of her ancient status as a slave. A slave is a human being whose production—and, therefore, his life—belongs to his master. While the practice of buying and selling women has largely disappeared, the traditional attitude toward her secondary position in the matter of property rights has not been entirely obliterated. Since the law has been until quite recently exclusively male in its viewpoint, it could not be expected that her right to property would be put on a par with his. To concede her that equality would deprive him of the advantage which, dating back to her slave status, he has regarded as his prerogative; and such is the conditioning process of the law that in this arrangement the woman concurs. What the equal rights amendment proposes is to abrogate this special privilege; that is to say, the amendment is anti-legalistic.

That is why the amendment commends itself to the person whose sense of justice has not been warped by slavish acceptance of the law. * * *

—From *Analysis*, Vol. 1, No. 3, January, 1945, Page 4.

An Appeal To Business And Professional Women

By ELIZABETH M. HINE

Fellow Business and Professional Women:

Just now things are going rather well with women in the business world. When the war is over conditions will be very different. Now, while women have such large numbers and so great a share in the activities of our country, is the time to put women on a sound legal footing.

Of course nothing is sound without a rock bottom foundation. And the laws of the land are the rock bottom of our country. No matter how much women prove their ability in business and the professions, they do not have an equal chance with men, so long as the laws of the country militate against them. And now is the greatest opportunity women will have in many long years to use their influence to have the laws made equitable.

Housewives do not care especially about the Equal Rights Amendment which is before Congress. It is we business and professional women who know what it means to women. We are the ones who must push the matter. And now is the time.

Our National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has endorsed this amendment. But the individual work of each of us is necessary for its passage. Members of Congress are influenced by a flood of telegrams and letters from their constituents.

The Equal Rights Amendment is now before Congress. Please write or telegraph at once to your Senators and your own Representative urging them to vote for the Amendment. Meanwhile, talk with other women, and get their support for the measure. Some fear that by gaining equality they will lose privileges. Privileges are not sound unless they are based on equality. Let us get equality first and then grant any privileges which are justly deserved. But we have no security in the world until we have equality under the law. When the war is over, we will appreciate then what it means to have equal rights. Now is the time to get those rights. For the good of yourself and all of us, be thinking about it and talking about it.

'Tis the business of little minds to shrink, but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. —*Thomas Paine.*

Northwestern Regional Activities

"Women here are ready for the Equal Rights Amendment. Support for this measure is sweeping through the country," reports Mrs. Marie Horton of Laramie, Wyoming, Chairman of the Northwestern region of the National Woman's Party.

Mrs. Horton writes from Denver, where Miss Dorothy French has accepted the chairmanship of the Colorado Branch and is planning an organization tour of the state. Miss French is an attorney who received her law degree from Colorado University after graduating from the Lake City, Colorado, High School. She succeeds Mrs. Lillian Kerr of Colorado Springs, who has for many years developed and maintained interest in the Amendment. Mrs. Kerr is co-operating actively with Miss French, particularly in the Colorado Springs area.

In Cheyenne, Wyoming, where Miss Lizabeth Wiley is Chairman of the State Branch, Mrs. Howard Hanson has accepted the secretaryship. It was at Laramie, the home of Mrs. Horton, where the first local group of the American Association of University Women endorsed the Amendment. (See next column.) At that time Mrs. Horton was their local legislative chairman.

Work in the Northwestern Region started with the successful organization campaign last summer of Mrs. Ethel Ernest Murrell, Florida State Chairman, who is a "Wyoming girl" and who returned to her native soil six months ago to stimulate work in that locality. It was due to her efforts that the Northwestern Region was organized. It comprises the States of Wyoming, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Montana and Utah.

KITTY MARION

Tributes to Kitty Marion, on the occasion of the Farewell Meeting of her friends, Nov. 18, 1944, at the home of Miss Adelaide Schulkind, 146 W. 12th St., New York, N. Y.

"Kitty Marion was one of those rare and unique women who refused to live her life according to the laws of her environment. She fought from early childhood against the parental authority that a girl—a good girl—should take her place only in the kitchen, the nursery and the church. She left her father's house in Germany, as a very young girl, and went to London to work in the suffrage fight for women under the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst.

"For several years Kitty Marion was able to give violent expression to her anathema against injustice to women and fought valiantly through several hunger strikes until World War One brought an end to that struggle and brought Kitty Marion to the United States.

"Her work in the Birth Control movement was not so violent but it drew upon her essential courage, wit and human good sense, as she bravely faced crowds, night after night, on Broadway, selling the 'Birth Control Review'.

"Her Biblical retorts to those who wanted to reform or insult her were priceless. There was but one Kitty Marion in all this world and the world could well use many thousands of Kitty Marions." (*Signed*) MARGARET SANGER, Tuscon, Arizona.

Miss Marion died October 11, 1944. At the Memorial Meeting on November 18th many paid tribute to her memory including Miss Adelaide Schulkind, Henrietta Hart, Grace Feeney, Ellen Kennan, Florence Rose, Dr. Dickinson, Wm. Sanger, Joseph Lewis and Hazel Moore. Katherine C. Evans of Scotland read a poem and Dr. Sidonia Furst of Vienna, Austria, said: "We owe much to those who worked and suffered with Mrs. Pankhurst, in the Suffrage Days, and in America in the Birth Control Movement." Messages and telegrams came from Alice Paul, the tribute quoted above from Mrs. Sanger, and Annie Grey sent a poem. Messages also came from Vera Douie, Librarian, of Oxford, England, from Mrs. Edith Howe Martyn, Sydney, Australia, and from Olive Johnson, London, England.

Mrs. Mayme Aiken, of Jamaica, who visited our Headquarters on January 12, 1945, sent the following message:

> "Kitty Marion left a colorful record of achievement. Those who knew her can never forget her. May she rest in peace."

When Miss Marion visited National Headquarters, on July 12th, 1944, she showed her Hunger Strike Medal, showing that she was forcibly fed more than twenty times. Her motto was always "Deeds not words."

Endorsements

Detroit, Michigan,
January 16, 1945.

The National Association of Women Lawyers supports the Equal Rights Amendment. We are eager to do what we can to help in furthering its passage.

(*Signed*) LULA E. BACHMAN,
President.

Telegram

New York, N. Y.
December, 1945.

The New York City Panhellenic, Incorporated, endorses the work of the National Woman's Party, especially the Equal Rights Amendment.

(*Signed*) E. M. MARINER,
President.

Minneapolis, Minn.
December 11, 1944.

Dear Mrs. Wiley:

"The Cassiopeia Club" of Minneapolis, Minn., to which I belong, sent letters of endorsement to Senators Joseph H. Ball and Henrik Shipstead, stating after one year of careful study that they had gone on record in favor of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This action was taken November 24, 1944.

(*Signed*) MABEL PROUT (Mrs. R. I. C. Prout)
Past President, Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Telegram

Laramie, Wyoming,
January 18, 1945.

Laramie (Wyoming) Branch of the AAUW supports the Equal Rights Amendment.

(*Signed*) MARIE HORTON.

1609 N. Locust St.,
Denton, Texas, Jan. 13, 1945.

On Jan. 10th the Denton (Texas) Chapter of the American Association of University Women adopted a resolution supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. The program for the meeting was a panel discussion of the Amendment. I gave the introduction, and a summary. Dr. Evelyn Carrington defended the Amendment, another woman spoke against it and a third person told of the AAUW attitude toward it. After the program a motion was made that we adopt a resolution saying that our Chapter favored the Amendment. It carried by an overwhelming majority. Only four votes were cast against it. Copies of this resolution are being sent to the Texas Congressmen from this District, to both Texas Senators and to the State and National Headquarters of the AAUW. * * *

(*Signed*) A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR.

Washington, D. C.
January 4, 1945.

I am in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment. I was the sponsor of similar legislation in the State legislature and I shall do everything in my power to secure the passage of the Amendment.

(*Signed*) DWIGHT L. ROGERS,
Member of Congress, Sixth District, Florida.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

A National Issue With International Influence

A FEW women who are opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment are suggesting a moratorium on the Amendment until our tangled international affairs are straightened out. Not only is this suggestion wishful thinking on their part without the slightest hope of success, but it would be a backward step for women and for the whole world.

While the Equal Rights Amendment is not in itself an international issue, it is a national issue, the outcome of which will affect the future of women throughout the world. If the United States, the world's most powerful nation, fails to extend to its women the recognition of full citizenship—equal rights with men under the law—the chances are that women will be shut out of an international Bill of Rights.

Yet some women argue that it is the duty of women in our country to forget equal rights and devote all their energies to building up a world organization to keep the peace. Women's influence in international affairs will be in exact ratio to their influence and efficacy in government in their own countries. We can talk, argue, and plead about the need for women on policy-making bodies and at the peace table but until women are recognized as complete citizens and partners of men and until they make their influence felt as members of the Congress, their effect on international affairs will only be indirect, as it always has been. It seems pathetic to me and harking back to the days before women had the vote, for a well-known leader of women to suggest to 44 women's organizations that if they can do no better, they ought to hold an "international women's meeting at the same time and place" as the peace conference. After 25 years of suffrage and with women controlling more than half the wealth of this country, it is a terrible indictment of their ability and spirit, to hint that they can do no better than this.

They can do better than this, if they will unite not with a negative attitude but with a positive, self-respecting purpose in regard to women's place in the world. Looked upon realistically the Equal Rights Amendment is the first positive step along the road of women's effective participation in international affairs. Its adoption will announce to the whole world the confidence of your government in its women citizens and in their ability to share responsibility.

During the Civil War women were urged to set aside their fight for woman suffrage in order that the Negro might win enfranchisement in what was called "the Negro's hour." Unfortunately the majority of women failed to insist that women and the Negro be enfranchised together. Therefore, in spite of women's tremendous contribution toward winning that war, woman suffrage was postponed more than 50 years. During World War I, women, profiting from experience, knew better than to give up their fight for woman suffrage. Today in the midst of the world's greatest war, a war aimed at establishing freedom for all peoples, women face another challenge. May they be wise enough to unite behind the Equal Rights Amendment, and through it, take their places as respected citizens of their country and the world. Women will be effective internationally only as they are regarded nationally as the equals and partners of men.

Susan B. Anthony Memorial Library, Los Angeles, California

Mementos of the fight for woman suffrage are to be found in the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Library of California, a collection of selected material concerning Miss Anthony, her work, and her co-workers, located in the Los Angeles Public Library. Many libraries have miscellaneous material on the women's rights movement but this collection seeks to specialize and classify its information so as to honor the great leader and those who were prominently identified with her.

A committee of five admirers of Susan B. Anthony, headed by Mrs. Una R. Winter of Upland, Calif., spent several years collecting material and preparing it for use. In 1941 it was presented to the Sociology Department of the Los Angeles Public Library for preservation. The committee adds to the collection as new treasures become available.

The usual books on suffrage, a number of them autographed by Miss Anthony, are to be found in the collection. However the most important material is of a type not found in books. Beside a number of original letters by Miss Anthony and her associates and original photographs, there are many volumes of clippings from the press of the day, cartoons, leaflets, announcements, programs, memorials, badges and campaign buttons, reminiscenses, all arranged chronologically under subjects so that students and research workers may find wanted information quickly.

When the comprehensive history of the suffrage movement in America is written, we shall marvel at the time, money and labor that women gave to their cause during the seventy years of the struggle for the right to vote, their originality and resourcefulness in keeping the cause before the public, their cheerfulness, patience and perseverance after every defeat—all this without resorting to vituperation or violence of any kind.

Honoring Mrs. Mayme Aikin of Jamaica

Jamaica's leading feminist, Mrs. Mayme Aikin, was honored with a tea and reception at national headquarters January 11. She was accompanied by her daughter, Miss Joy Isabell Aikin, one of the foremost workers in the recent Jamaican illiteracy campaign.

Mrs. Aikin spoke to the many guests of both the Negro and white race on the place women hold in her country. She told something of the work of the Women's Liberal Club, of which she is now vice-president, and which has been instrumental in securing much needed reforms. It was largely through the efforts of this group that Equal Rights for every Jamaican, man and woman, was written into the new constitution adopted December 14, 1944. The Liberal Club has done much to forward women in political life, with the result that Miss Iris Collins now sits in the new assembly.

Coming to this country for her health in July, Mrs. Aikin plans to leave for Jamaica soon, to carry on her work for the many causes in which she has long been interested and to help open a "Working Girls' Home" which will give a pleasant social life to domestic servants.

Asked about race relations in her beautiful island home, Mrs. Aikin declared:

> "Race has nothing to do with our possibilities in Jamaica. We can learn much from America to encourage our women politically, economically, and educationally, but American women can learn from Jamaicans how the two races can live together."